2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno. Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

Hoti when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best, died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

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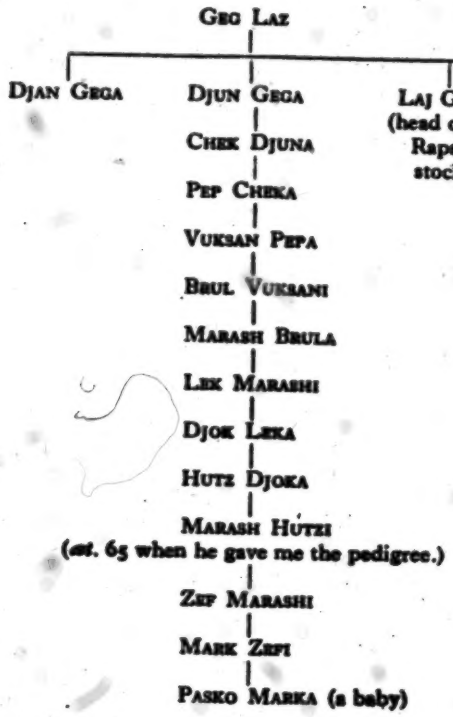
me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.



The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

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includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population).

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
[611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

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Baron Nopcsa considers the ancestor Nikol to have been brother and not son to Krasan.

THE PUKA GROUP

This is sometimes reckoned a large tribe of seven bairaks. Sometimes as a group of tribes.

It is an important group, as here are the oldest of all the population. Much is probably of indigenous origin with little immigration.

1. *Berisha-Merturi.*—The Berisha people state that they have always been in their present homeland. They formerly, says Nopcsa, occupied more, but were driven from Ibalja by the Thachi. With great patience the Baron traced some very extensive pedigrees with certainty back to 1370, and with probability to 1270, an extraordinarily detailed piece of oral tradition. Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago. Even in the days when the district was included in the Serb Empire we find no Slav names in these pedigrees, and only two, Sokol (falcon) and Uk (wolf), occur later. As above mentioned, both Gruda and Kuchi also trace descent in part from Berisha. I would particularly direct ethnologists to this region before it is penetrated and broken up by roads.

Merturi, I was told, was an ancient Roman name "Merituri," but I have not traced it. That the Romans had a route through the district is shown by the place-names "Valbona" and "Apripa." Berisha-Merturi is all Catholic.

2. *Cheriti.*—Part Catholic, part Moslem. These people also stated that they were "very old," but I have no particulars.

3. *Komani.*—Catholic. In this tribe land are the ruins and the ancient graveyard known as Kalja Dalmaches, or tower of the Dalmatians, which is generally considered to be the remains of the Illyrian tribe of the Delmates or Dalmates, driven from the coast by the Romans. The present inhabitants seem to have no tradition of descent from these people, and no tradition, in fact, about them at all, so are clearly later immigrants.

The name Komani occurs also for a district in Montenegro, not far from Podgoritza. One is tempted to connect it with the Cumans or Komans, who were used as hired troops by various Balkan rulers, especially the Bulgars, in the Middle Ages. But we have no definite tale of their movements.

4. *Chiri.*—All Catholic.

5. *Dushaj.*—Catholic.

6. *Kabashi.*—Moslem. Nopcsa reports they came about 250 years ago to their present site.

7. *Puka.*—All Moslem.

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of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de- 292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared 765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 619 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North. Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 619 1. *Gashi.*—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not visit it.

779 2. *Hashi.*—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former [186] home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

[203] 173 3. *Tropopoja.*—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit. The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 619 173 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

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H 167 721 727 the trees and, as for arms, did not know what they were, except for two or three kinds of javelins and darts." Thus he describes them as a savage horde, but gives no information as to tribes or chiefs.

It was fully another century before the Serbs were finally established and settled. Presbyter Diocleas, though hopelessly confused in his details about dates and persons, probably records a true tradition in his *Chronicles* when he describes the invasion of the pagan Slavs thus: "The Christians, seeing themselves placed in great tribulation and persecution, began gathering themselves together on mountain-tops, and strove to construct strongholds and castles and edifices, that they might escape from the hands of the Slavs till God should visit them and set them free."

H A 342 The mountain dwellings of the Vlahs and the Albanians still bear witness to the flight of the old inhabitant before the invader. To what extent the partly Romanized Illyrian populations became intermixed with the Serb it is impossible to say, but the Serb differs so much from the Northern Slav-speaking peoples (Poles, Czechs, Russians) that a considerable admixture of other blood is suggested. That this differed in various regions is shown by the place-names. Slavonic names are thickest in Serbia (pre-war), in Macedonia, and in Bosnia—that is, in the most fertile districts. They are rarest of all in North Albania, and are scanty in South Albania and in Thrace. In Montenegro and the Herzegovina there is a sprinkling of non-Slavonic names. Antique Greek and Roman names appear mainly on the coasts. Inland, "Nish" preserves the Roman (? pre-Roman) name of "Naissus"; and "Uskub" (Turkish) and "Shkupi" (Albanian) preserve the old "Scupi," now completely distorted by the Serbs into "Skoplje."

A 103 197

A 173 How much of what survives of tribe and tribe law is a remnant of the Illyrians and the "peligones," and how much is Slavonic, can hardly now be determined; but it is of interest to note that tribe and tribe law have survived longest in those districts which were least under Serb rule—Albania, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina.

2. Tribe Law in North Albania

The Canon of Lek Dukagin

A 671 173 Whenever in the mountains I asked why anything was done, I was told, "Because Lek ordered it." Law, custom, usage, were all attributed to Lek. That he must have been a man of strong personality to have thus set a mark on a people is obvious; but very little is known about

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him. His Canon was handed down orally to the elders and in their hands has been somewhat modified in different districts, but was in force through all the North Albanian mountains, both Moslem and Christian. Truly "in force," for "Lek said so" obtained more obedience than the Ten Commandments, and the teaching of the hodjas and the priests was often vain if it ran counter to that of Lek.

Who was Lek Dukagin? The Dukagini were chieftains in North Albania, and the few references to them show they ruled wide lands. In 1309 King Urosh II signed himself "King of Serbia, Chelmie, Dioclie, and Albania," and his successors styled themselves "King of Albania" till Stefan Dushan's death in 1356; but the Serbs, though they exacted tribute and labour from certain districts, do not seem to have penetrated and influenced the mountains. Only thus can we account for the fact that, except near Scutari, the place-names are Albanian, and that so soon as the Serb Empire began crumbling on Dushan's death the names of Albanian chieftains appear. The oldest reference to the Dukagini I can find is a letter, *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia* (No. 133), from Pope Innocent III to the "noble man Demetrius, Prince of Albania," replying to one asking for religious instruction, and a document of 1216, explaining that "Demetrius is son of Progon and brother of Gini, Count of Albania."

Hopf (*Chroniques inédits Greco-Romanes*, Berlin, 1873) gives, as a result of much search, a pedigree of the Dukagini. The earliest is "Tanusius I, Dux Ginus, Lord of Zadrima, the Black Mountain (Mal i zi on the Drin?), Pulati, and Shati." He is probably the "Dux Ginius Tanuschus Albanensis" who is taken prisoner by Johannis Scotus, Charles of Sicily's Captain, at Durazzo in 1281 (*v. Acta et Dip.*, No. 455). "Gini" is Albanian for John. "Dukagini" is Duke John; "dux," in the sense of leader or chief. The title "duca" hails from Venice, just as do "gubernador" and "kapetan" in Montenegro.

From Tanusius Dux Ginus descends Lek (Alexander) I. He was a chieftain who aided the Venetians against the Turks. A dispatch from Alessio, December 1387 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 413), states that the brothers Lek and Paul Dukagin permit free passage through their lands to the Ragusans. In 1393 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 501), the "noble lords, Progon and Tanus, brothers, sons of the late lord Lek Dukagin, lords of the castle of Alessio," in their own names and on behalf of their relatives, hand over Alessio to the Venetians, being unable to hold it against the Turks. This Tanus is described by Hopf as lord of Fandi (now part of Mirdita). As he was lord also of Alessio this shows his lands to have been wide. He had a son, Paul, lord of Gurikuchi, Salita, etc., whose son, Lek II, is probably the Lek of the Canon. Hopf describes him as lord of Dagno and Zadrima between 1444 and 1459. These were the

days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice, and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

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they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in conflict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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the influence of the Roman missionaries. Tattooing is not confined to tribes tracing northern origin, but is more marked among them.

Among the Pulati and Dukagini, who trace a different origin, tattooing is common but not universal, and takes the form often of

[764]

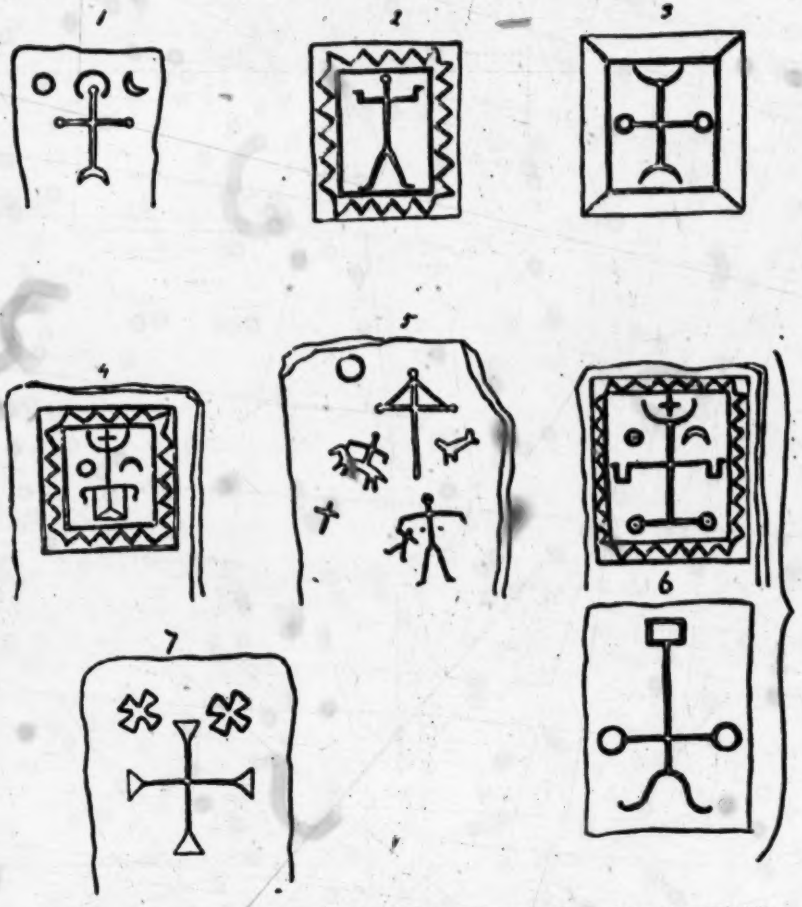

FIG. 8.—MODERN GRAVESTONES IN ROMAN CATHOLIC GRAVEYARD, DUSHMANI, NORTHERN ALBANIA

(Showing variants of Cross, Crescent, and Sun. All recent)

one tiny cross. I did not see a sun or moon tattoo, but found the sun and moon extremely common carved on graves, furniture, over doors, etc. Here the moon is carved as a semicircle with rays, just as shown in the Bosnian tattoos.

Epirus

THE southern part of the Kingdom of Albania of today was the ancient Epirus. This territory was bounded on the north by the Ionian Sea and on the south by the Ambracian Gulf. Its landward sides were next to Illyria, Macedonia and Thessaly. The terrain is essentially mountainous. About the fourth century before Christ these Epirots were divided in fourteen tribes. Epirus at this time exerted no small influence on Thessaly through the oracle of Dodona. Historically, the part of Epirus was passive. Epirus was divided into the smaller kingdoms of Molossia, Thesprotia, Chaonia, etc., which were formed into an Epirotic League.

The chieftains of Molossia, who dominated all Epirus, claimed to be descended from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in the country after the fall of Troy. (Plutarch also relates that Achilles was known in this country under the name of "Aspetos" which in Albanian means "swift.") Upon Pyrrhus' death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus, his son by Andromache.

The Zogu Family

BURGAYETI, encircled by four towering mountains that form natural barriers commanding an uninterrupted view of the surrounding country, is a small village in the Mati district. In the very heart of this picturesque little town rises a sheer, steep rock as if purposely so placed by nature as a watchful sentinel and guardian-angel of the vicinity. On the pinnacle of this mighty rock are the historic ruins of the grand old castle which was destroyed in the world war. As far as history can ascertain, this great, ancient castle dates from the fifteenth century, when legend narrates that Princess Mamica of Kruja, sister of the mighty warrior, Scanderbeg the Great, was given in solemn marriage to Zogu, Lord of Burgayeti Castle. 173

According to history, this ancient Albanian ruling family has its origin in the northern provinces of Albania, and gradually moving southward, made permanent settlement in the fifteenth century in the district of Mati. Hav-

3: Redlich 5-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania

ing firmly established themselves in Burgayeti, Zogu with a loyal following of his Mati people rose in revolt against Gazi Bey, then the Turkish Governor of this district, who lost his life in the ensuing battle, and Zogu
• 173 seized the existing government, exchanged the Catholic faith for the more popular Islam religion, was accorded the hereditary title of Pasha by the Turkish Sultan, who later recognized Zogu Pasha as the hereditary prince ruler of Mati.

The next of this dominating family to enter the annals of history was Abdullah Bey Zogu, grandson of the victorious Zogu Pasha, who was killed in a valiant but fruitless battle for Albanian independence in 1621, according to the inscription of his tombstone. He was followed by his son Ahmed, who gallantly defended his country against invading enemies. Mahmud Pasha Zogu, son of Ahmed, upon his succession after his father's death, ruled Mati with an able display of his exceptional abilities. It fell to the lot of Djelal Pasha Zogu, son of Mahmud, to rekindle the ever-smouldering fires of rebellion against the foreign masters of Albania, and upon his return from Russia, whither he had been led by political

173 plans, he immediately assumed command of a renewed effort to acquire Albanian independence. This courageous leader was seized by the Turks and sent into exile at Constantinople, and he was succeeded in command by his son, Xhemal Pasha Zogu, who succeeded in clearing Mati of the invaders. It was to this ruler of Mati that a son was born on October 8, 1895—a son that was to prove a redeemer of the people for whom his ancestors had so bravely laid down their lives, and whose name is Ahmed Bey Zogu, the present King of the Albanians.

This powerful ruling dynasty, uninterrupted through the generations, had continued as the hereditary princes of Mati since the fifteenth century, and under whose untiring vigilance the Turks were never able to set foot into this part of the country. A council of elders, presided over by the head of the house of Zogu, shaped the destinies of the warrior-natives according to the *Kanun i Lek Dukagjinit*, the old law of the Albanian mountaineers collaborated in the course of the centuries.

175 Ahmed Bey Zogu's father died in 1908, in Ahmed's thirteenth year, during which time

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

then literally buried under a heap of stones, which are piled upon and around her; and her husband has a right to slay the partner of her guilt wherever he may find him. Such cases are, however, of extremely rare occurrence.

Considering this rigidity of morals it is a rather curious fact that two clans, or tribes—the Clementi and the Castrati—ascribe their origin to irregular connections between the daughters of shepherds and strangers, exiles from other countries. The stories are almost identical. That of the Clementi is as follows:—

A young man named Clement, clerk to a priest of Moratcha, a district of Montenegro, weary of the tyranny of his superior, ran away, and, not knowing which way to go, made for the road leading from Selze to Scutari. Arriving at a place called Tamara, he came upon a flockmaster of Triepsei, who, astonished to see a youth dressed as he was in such a place, inquired his business there. Without disclosing whence he came, Clement related his misfortunes, and declared his intention of going to Scutari in order to seek service with some family of position. Touched with pity, and fearing for him the dangers of the way, the shepherd invited the stranger to stay with him and help him to keep his flocks. Clement accepted the offer; and when the number of sheep he was to receive as wages was settled, he followed his new master home.

The shepherd was rich in flocks and lands, possessed of a second wife with a young family, and also of a grown-up daughter, Bubce, who was both ugly

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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●1.73 539 and lame. Clement, being young and active, and also attentive to his new duties, soon gained the affection of his master, and, at the same time, that of his daughter, who, seeing no chance of ever being asked in marriage by her equal, took it into her head to make the shepherd lad fall in love with her. Clement long resisted the allurements of the uncomely Bubce, and pointed out to her the danger they would both run should any understanding between them come to her father's ears, and also the misery that would follow for her a union with a penniless man. "It is not our danger, but my deformity that thou fearest," the shrewd Bubce would reply, and, her devotion finally touching the heart of Clement, the lovers met frequently in secret.

Finding herself compelled to take her stepmother into her confidence, the latter, fearing that her husband's pride would impel him to some act of violence were the state of affairs to come suddenly to his [788] knowledge, tried to prepare him for the news, and made him swear by St. Nicholas not to do harm to any one. The angry father, in spite of his oath, at first threatened to kill both his daughter and her lover, and reproached them bitterly for the dishonour they had brought upon his house. Bubce, however, took all the blame upon herself, and her tears and prayers, joined to those of his wife, who reminded him of the oath he had sworn "by St. Nicholas," and which is of all oaths the most binding on an Albanian, finally prevailed with him. Clement might marry his daughter, but on condition that neither of them ever again should appear before him. So the couple

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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not been unfrequent even in the present century, and the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians have among the Turks the reputation of being but indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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• 173 since, when all the country was Christian, there stood in the city of Scutari a beautiful image of the Virgin Mary, to whose shrine thousands flocked every year from all parts of the country to offer their gifts, perform their devotions, and be healed of their infirmities. Such, indeed, was the healing power of this Madonna that no sick person was ever known to kiss in faith her white feet and not depart completely cured.

[755]

For some cause or other, however, it fell out that there was dissension between the priest and the people, and one day the latter came to the church in great crowds, declaring that unless the priest yielded to them they would then and there abjure the faith of Christ and embrace in its stead that of Mohammed. The priest, whether right or wrong, still remaining firm, his congregation tore the rosaries and crosses from their necks, trampled them under their feet, and, going to the nearest mosque, were received by the Mollah into the fold of the True Believers. Grieved and displeased at this wholesale desertion of those who had received nothing but benefits at her hands, Our Lady of Skodra disappeared during the night from that ungrateful land. What new shrine the beautiful image had hallowed with its presence was, for a time, unknown. Some months later, however, tidings were brought that, on the night of her departure from Scutari, an image of the Madonna had miraculously entered the church of a remote village in Italy, and had there taken up its abode. A voice was also, it is said, heard crying out over Scutari that not till the last *Türki* (Moslem) had left the land of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most striking and strange. The mass performed on the occasion is listened to by a congregation whose waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white-kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold embroidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwithstanding their participation in the religious rites of their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious of their own honour than of that of the creed they profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred about the middle of the century, offers a striking illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring the bride home, accompanied, according to national custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped, as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air. Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery, the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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She then takes hold of the flower with both hands and lays her head upon it.

Almost every Albanian tribe has a more or less mythical tradition of its origin, which is generally traced to some single ancestor. Of these I have already mentioned two, the legends of the Miridite clans of the Clementi and the Castrati. Another tradition, however, traces the descent of the entire tribe of the Miridites from one man, who, like the favourite hero of fairy tales generally, was the youngest of three sons. His father, according to the story, lived on Mount Pastrik, near Diakova, and at his death the three brothers divided their poor inheritance, the eldest taking the saddle (*Shalla*), the second the sieve (*Shosh*), the third receiving only the salutation of "Good-day" (*Mir dia*). As is, however, always the case in such stories, the prosperity of the portionless one greatly excelled that of his brothers. For while they became the founders of the clans called Shialla and Shoshi, in remembrance of the saddle and sieve they had respectively inherited, he who had been dismissed with an ironical salutation bequeathed it as a name to a far more numerous and powerful tribe, the *Miridites*.

Out of so many charming folk-tales it is a difficult matter to choose the best or most characteristically Albanian. I have, however, limited myself to those of which the originals are available, in order to obtain the precise names of the Supernals described in them, many of whom are disguised by their French translator under the name of *Lamie*, and by Von Hahn under the Teutonic *Elfe* or *Kobold*. As mentioned in

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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returned home. Said he to his wife, "Go and invite your brothers to dinner." 539

Arrived at their house, she said, "We beg you to come and dine with us," and they followed her home. They began to eat the *pastourma*, but tried in vain to chew it, for it was not cooked.

"How is this," they asked, "that you give us raw meat?"

"It is the same meat you had on the spit the other evening," replied the husband. "I have served it to you precisely as you roasted it yourselves."

"What! Was it thou who gave us such a horrible fright?"

"I myself. But let us be comrades all the same."

And comrades they were.

Though the Albanians cannot be called a musical people, singing is the favourite pastime of both men and women. Their airs have little variety, being for the most part monotonous recitatives, and the singer's merit depends upon his success in rivalling the violin, mandolin, or flute, by which his song is accompanied, in prolonging the last note. The songs are generally long ballads, which recount the victories of the tribe, the doughty deeds of ancestors, of the family, or the exploits of some national hero. For in the songs of the Skipetars the later history of the country is preserved, and in those of the Ghegs more particularly may be found the record of how they obstinately resisted, yard by yard, the Turkish advance into their mountains, and were only subdued at last by the

533 [517] [534] 533 173

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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533 overwhelming numbers and equal pertinacity of the
173 foe. The record, too, of every insurrection, and they have been many, has thus from 1572 downwards been orally transmitted from generation to generation, keeping alive in the memory of the Albanians the heroism of their ancestors, and inciting them in their turn to similar deeds of daring.

533 The songs vary greatly in literary merit. Poetical
538 talent seems now to have died out in the country, though formerly Albania had her national poets, the last of them (so far as I can ascertain), Hussein Mollah, having lived in the eighteenth century. The old ballads are consequently far superior to those of more recent date, which consist chiefly of detached couplets, and are very episodic, though they describe with sufficient accuracy the events they profess to record. In the more remote highlands some very ancient historical ballads are preserved, but unfortunately none of these have yet been collected.

One of the most striking songs of the Skipetars commemorates the revolution of 1572 under Ibrahim Pasha of Scutari. The result of this insurrection was the recognition by the Porte of its leader as Pasha of Scutari, he being the first Albanian since the conquest who had been allowed to assume that title. The song is, unfortunately, too long to give in full, but the following opening and concluding lines may give some idea of its spirit:—

539

No! no! our country only must we mother call,
For on her breast she us has nourished all.
She is the wife we to our bosoms press,
Who wakes within our hearts love's tenderness.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539

Where is the man, love of such mother, wife,
Who holds within his heart, counts not his life
As naught, as naught whatever he
May sacrifice, to keep his loved one free.

* * * * *

Come! Oh, ye generous sons, brave children, come!
And you, ye cherished husbands, hasten home.
Come to the arms of those who, with your fall,
Would have lost loved ones, country, home, and all!
Come back and rest from war's dread strife and din,
And teach your sons a hero's name to win!

533
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The following ballad graphically describes a struggle which took place in 1795 between the Ghegs under Mahmoud Pasha of Scutari and the Tosks under Kourd Pasha of Berat.

539
173

Beat, beat, O valiant hearts of Ghegs, with noble pride!
The hosts of Tosks we've scattered far and wide;
For warrior Scutari has now at length,
With Roumeli's famed hero tried her strength.

To Hussein Mollah hear them call with glee,
"Now onward march, Tabácchi and Terzi,
Tosk has met Gheg. Come thou, our Laureate,
And make a song this fight to celebrate."

Kourd Pasha's at Berat, there let him bide;
Mean is his rank to stand Mahmoud beside;
What's he before Mahmoud Pasha, our lord?
How dares he 'gainst his master draw the sword?

805
822

Rebel is Kourd Pasha and *verlazi*,[1]
To his liege lord a traitor foul is he;
With fear he trembles when afar the drum,
Three hours[2] away, proclains Mahmoud doth come.

[1] One who takes arms against his suzerain.
[2] Distance in the East is always calculated by time

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 Scared at the sound, he in the tekkéh [1] hides,
●173 His standards leaves, nor heeds what them betides;
Beard and moustache he tears with flowing tear,
And in a swoon at length he falls from fear.

Mahmoud his charger mounts, and riding out
His men before, now "Forward!" hear him shout;
"Forward with me! to-day, if Allah will,
I Kourd Pasha with my own hand will kill."

Now, like a roaring lion, where'er he goes,
With Allah's aid, in terror flee his foes;
The tekkéh of Baba Hussein before,
See how they rend from Tosks the spoils of war!

Veli escapes. Poor Tahir, from the rout
Into the mill thou fleest; there dost hold out.
It is in vain that bravely still thou fight;
How couldst thou stand against this vulture's might?

Death thee awaits, this day will be thy last,
Riddled with balls, thy troops are fleeing fast;
Long will it be before the Tosks forget
The valour of the Ghegs when last they met.

Now to his men hear Agha Rouka cry,
"Are ye then women, that from foe ye fly?
Of what avail the manly arms ye bear?
Of what avail the sabres bright ye wear?

Rally yourselves, as skirmishers in bands,
Fall on the Ghegs, and, with your curvéd brands,
Strike off their heads! Who falls the field upon
Wept is, but scorned who lives with honour gone!"

Naught heed they him, but in confusion fly.
Tosks of Berat! your sandals [2] go and tie!
Measure no more yourselves with Scutarine,
Who flees not, wields true gun, and sabre keen!

[346]

[1] A Dervish chapel.

[291] [281] [2] The hide shoes, with the hairy side turned inwards, worn generally in the mountains.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The following little Tosk song refers to an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835:—

From Corfu they tidings bear,
Tafilbouz is landing here;
On Avlona's shore he lands,
Three detachments he commands.

To the mosque they crowd and shout,
"Hodo, from thy house come out!"
Now may Allah be his shield,
If to them should Hodo yield!

O Hodo, O Sadik, Bekir, and Karafili!
Simon the Liap's brave sons!
'Mid the rattle of the guns,
They have fall'n, unhappy ones!
May the rest be lucky!

The national songs, as well as the folk-tales, of the land of their forefathers are also sacredly cherished by those Albanians who, as before mentioned, for centuries past have been settled in Southern Italy and Sicily. There the exploits of the heroic Scanderbeg are still celebrated, and at their feasts they sing how the hero of Croia

Of hares and capons ate the flesh,
Of partridges the heads ate;

and how

His cups and forks were all of gold,
And of fine silk his napkins.

The women, too, in their Easter dances, relate how, as he went forth to battle, Death met him on the road, and revealed to him the secrets of the Book of Destiny; how he called to him his young son, and bade him tie his horse to a cypress on the seashore, plant his

PEAKS OF SHALA

He filled our glasses with red wine. "You must not mistake my people," he said. "The blood feud is bad, very bad, but it is their only way of enforcing laws, which are, in general, admirable. 628 619

"The blood feud is not a lawless thing, as strangers sometimes think. Nor has it anything to do with personal strife or hate. It is a form of capital punishment, such as all nations have, and it is governed by most strict laws.

"You must remember that in these mountains we have never been conquered by foreign governments. The Roman Empire claimed to have overpowered Albania, it is true, as later the Turks did, but neither Rome nor Constantinople was able to send its government into these mountains. The people live as they did before the days of Greece, except for the influence of the Church. It is a simple, communistic society, [181] without private property or any organized government. The only law is the moral law, enforced by tradition, by custom, and by common consent. The father of the family becomes the chief of the tribe, but he has no power that conflicts with the moral law, the ancient Law of Lec. There is a tradition that all this group of tribes [173] was once, long ago, given this moral law by a man named Lec, but that is doubtless a myth added to through the ages.

"This Law of Lec is based on personal honor, which is also the honor of the tribe. A man or a tribe must punish an insult to honor by killing

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

see that the sun circle was carved. Everything else has been eaten by the great flocks of years. But there is still treasure buried there." 361 173

"How do you know?"

"I know because I have seen men who have seen it. There is a man of Pultit whom I know. He went to the old city of Pog one day with his goats. There had been a great storm and part of the wall had fallen. Before that day the wall had had a corner, where now you see nothing. Where the wall had fallen there was a golden image of a man, as large as himself, shining in the sun. The man of Pultit forgot his goats in looking at it. It was too heavy for him to carry, so he took a stone and broke off four of its fingers, and with them in his sash he went to get his brothers to help him carry away the image.

"But it was night before he reached their house, and they said it was better not to go to that city until morning. In the morning they went, and where the image had been there was nothing but stones. Afterward, in thinking of nothing but that image, the man went mad, and he now lives alone and naked in the mountains, talking to the ora and begging them to take him again to that image. But before that he sold the fingers to the gold beaters in Scutari, and they said those fingers were of the purest gold and not alloyed, as gold is now. I did not see the fingers, but many did before they were beaten into ornaments."

"What do you think became of the image?"

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PEAKS OF SHALA

"Doubtless it had a bird or snake for guardian, and that spirit came and took it away again," said Cheremi, and Perolli explained that when one buries a treasure one calls to some creature of the woods and intrusts the hoard to its care. "O spirit of the small gray serpent with poison in thy tooth, guard for me this treasure. Let no man see it for ten times ten years, and then deliver it only to those of my family," would be a simple formula, but usually more imagination is used. For instance, Perolli knew of a man who called the large magpie to watch him bury his treasure, and he said to the bird, "Let no one uncover this gold until two black mice have dragged three times around this tree a carriage made of an acorn cup, with a small mouse in it." But his incantation was overheard, and the crafty neighbor caught and dyed and trained the mice and made the carriage, and had them drag it three times around the tree, after which the magpie gave up the treasure. Otherwise it would have disappeared when a hand was laid upon it.

"But does Cheremi really believe these things?" I asked myself, and, looking at his serious face and Perolli's, I was struck with the startling idea that Perolli believed them, too, in spite of his English suit and European education, and I felt in my own mind something like a soft landslide, uncovering possibilities of wild beliefs in myself. "Anything can happen in the mountains of Albania," I said, picking up my staff and rising, for the shadows of the western mountains were

539 In my disappointment I spoke too quickly, forgetting the excellence of Rexh as an interpreter. "It isn't Albanian, after all; it's Greek," I said. "I remember now that I read it years ago."

"Yes, so do I," said Alex, and her words crossed those of Rexh, who had picked up mine and was turning them into Albanian.

"*Po*," said the old man, with irony. "It is a Greek song—it is as Greek as Lec i Madhe."

[186] I had thanked the old man with an insult, for even the Ghegs keep smoldering in their hearts the knowledge that the Greeks hold Janina, and the memory of the burned villages and slaughtered Albanians of Epirus is only six years old. In an unguarded instant I had made for myself one of those recollections that burn in sleepless night hours. I called myself a fool, while I heard my voice trying to bury the irremediable mistake by 173 hurried words. "What is Lec i Madhe?"

186 Frances and Alex were busy in a scrap bag of mythology, and Rexh replied. "I don't know what you call him in English, Mrs. Lane. Lec i Madhe was our king of very long years ago, who went down from the mountains and took all the cities of the world. He was the son of our twentieth king, and he was a very great fighter. I think surely you must know him by some name in English. We call him Lec i Madhe; it means, the Great Lec. Because we had other kings before him called Lec."

"Lec i Madhe?" cried Frances, headlong at

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the word. "Alexander the Great! What are they saying about him?"

The young man in the American army shirt had listened not at all to the story of the ora, but he heard Frances's words and misunderstood them. "Alexander the Greek?" he repeated. "Alexander was not Greek; he was Albanian."

"You mean his mother was an Albanian," said Frances.

The young man smiled scornfully. "And you think his father was not? When has a king of Albania married a foreign wife? Albanians marry Albanians. When Filip the Second married, he married a woman of his own people, but of another tribe, as the custom has always been. Do the Greeks dare to say that Filip was a Greek? If he had been Greek, no Albanian chief would have given him a daughter for wife. Even then we Malisori[1] despised the Greeks."

"But Philip of Macedonia—was a Macedonian," I said, feebly. "Wasn't he a Macedonian? The Macedonians weren't Albanians, were they?"

"Ask the old man what he knows about Lec i Madhe, Rexh," said Frances. But the old man, drawing solace from the amber mouthpiece with his toothless lips, still brooded upon the song of the man of Mali Sharit.

"The things which I have told happened to an Albanian of the tribe of the Mali Sharit," he said. "The song of them has been sung by the

[1] Mountaineers.

PEAKS OF SHALA

173 Malisori from the days when they happened till
186 the days of my own father's manhood. The Greeks are a little, inquisitive people who have played with paper and with writing since they first came to our shores in boats, long ago—a hundred hundred years before the Romans came. We gave them shelter then, we let them come to our shores, we let them come from the cold seas and stay on our land, and they are guests who steal from their hosts. They have killed our people; they have taken Janina. Let them leave our songs and our kings alone. Greek!" said he, muttering. "They will be claiming the Mali Shoshit, next!"

ooo Excitement so shook my fingers that the writing wavers on the page. The blotted and rain-smeared notebook before me now evokes like a crystal before the gazer the picture of that old man in the warm duskiness of the house of Sadiri Luka, the streaming of rain on the roof, the smell of coffee and cigarette smoke, the soft sound of moccasined feet going down the corridor to confession at the knee of Padre Marjan.

173 "The Greeks came to your shores?" I said, goading the old man on. "But it is written in the books that they came from the lands watered by the Danube, by the river that flows through Belgrade to the Black Sea. It is written that they came down through the Balkans to build their great and beautiful cities on the shores of the Egean. And no one writes about the Albanians. Where did the Albanians come from?"

[Author -- Analyst]

These words created a perceptible sensation. 173 Hazel eyes and blue eyes turned upon me in amazement. A middle-aged man who had come from the room of confession to stack his rifle with others beside the fireplace and to roll a cigarette stopped with the tobacco half poured and stared at me. "It is not written where the Shqiptars came from?" said he, in a tone of stupefaction. "But surely all the world knows where the Shqiptars came from."

I assured him that it was written only that the Greeks, when they came, found some savage tribes whose origin was unknown. But it was thought that these tribes were old peoples of Europe who died out when the peoples of to-day came—I stopped, to give them no clew to the migrations of Aryans from India—who died out, I said, when the great civilizations of to-day came into the world. And the first of these civilizations was the Greek.

The newcomer finished his cigarette thoughtfully, put it in its holder, lighted it from a coal, and summed up his conclusions in an Albanian proverb. "It is very true," said he, "that only the spoon knows what is in the dish."

"And when we speak of the Greeks," said [186] another chief, "let us remember the saying of our fathers: The tree said to the wood cutter, 'Why do you kill me, for I have done nothing to you.' And the wood cutter replied, 'You gave me the handle for the ax.'"

The old man's irritation had died. He looked

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upon us now with pity, as ones who had offended because of ignorance. "If the American *zonyas* wish to know what we have learned from our fathers, who learned it from their fathers and their fathers' fathers, I will speak," he said. "All these things are very old, and none of them are written in books, therefore they are true. I am an old man, and I have seen that when men go down to the cities to learn what is in the books they come back scorning the wisdom of their fathers and remembering nothing of it, and they speak foolishly, words which do not agree with one another. But the things that a man knows because he has seen them, the things he considers while he walks on the trails and while he sits by the fires, these things are not many, but they are sound. Then when a man is lonely he puts words to these things and the words become a song, and the song stays as it was said, in the memories of those who hear it. Like the song of the man of Mali Sharit. These things in our songs are therefore true, for I know many songs about many things, but no song shows that another song is a liar.

"Now it has always been said in our songs that the Shqiptars came long ago from the east, from a crowded country beyond the eastern mountains. There was no water in the Black Sea then. The people came across mountain and valley, in many tribes. It was a land of great animals, good to eat when they were killed. These peoples—we were not then called Shqip-

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tars, but each tribe had its own name, the name of its chief—these peoples who were our fathers' fathers took all the land from the river in the north, that flows to-day through Belgrade, to the plains in the south that are now a sea.

"I do not know how long they lived here before the valleys became seas. There was a rain that was like the rain that is falling now, and there was a water that came up from the earth to meet it. And then there were the seas, on the east and the west and the south, and many tribes, many large tribes, were drowned in them. My grandfather told me this, and he said that his grandfather said there had been a song with the names of all these lost tribes, a song of mourning for the tribes that were eaten by the seas. But the grandfather of my grandfather had not heard that song. New songs come all the time and old songs are forgotten, and we have had much to mourn since the forgotten tribes ceased to be living men.

"But this you must understand. It was after the seas came that the Greeks came. They came in boats across the seas, and they were strange peoples that we had never seen before, speaking a strange tongue. Their boats came to the shores in the south, and our fathers had never seen boats. That was the coming of the Greeks. They came, and came again, and stayed, and built cities. The fathers of the Shqiptars stayed on the mountains and watched them, and went down and gave them gifts. We did not kill them,

173 as we might have done when they were few and weak and there were no Five Powers.

"The Greeks were always a soft people—except one tribe of them, whose name I do not remember. There was one tribe of good fighting men. But most of the Greeks were plainsmen. From the first, they loved to sit and think, to talk, and to write, and to read to one another what they had written. That was their pleasure.

"For this reason, all mountain men who liked to take their pleasure in that way went down to their cities and learned from the Greeks how to write, and having learned, they stayed there and wrote, and read what they had written, and in this way their days passed and no songs were sung about them. But the Greeks did not come to the mountains. When at last the mountain men went down to Greece behind their king, then there was no more Greece. And for these many years of years there would be no Greece if the Five Powers would take their hands from the Balkans."

The old man did not speak without interruption. There were promptings and contributions from his listeners, and now and then a question from us. And he had to be brought back to Lec i Madhe, for the politics of his own lifetime were fresher in his mind and more stirring to his emotions.

"Lec i Madhe was not a wise man like his father, but he was a chief and a fighter, and a leader of great fighters," said he. "There were

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twenty-one kings before his father, who were 173
kings of all the tribes from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, north of the tribes of Greeks. The kingdom was made by Karanna, who was a foreign chief from the eastern shores of the Black Sea. He came over the sea and made the united kingdom, and its capital was the city Emadhija.[1] After him came these kings: Cenua, Trimi, Perdika, Argua, Filip, Ajeropi, and Ajeropi was the first king whose family was of the pure blood of our fathers who came first from the east. After him there were these kings: Alqeti the son of Ajeropi; Aminti the son of Alqeti, who was the ally of Darius the king of Persia. Then Lec the son of Aminti; Perdika i dyte, the son's son of Perdika, Arqelloja the son of Lec; Oresti the son of Perdika i dyte; Arqelloja i dyte the son of Arqelloja; Armint' i dyte the son of Arqelloja i dyte; Pafsania who was a foreigner; Armint' i trete, the son of Armint' i dyte; Lec i dyte, the son of Armint' i trete; Ptolemeoja, who was a foreigner; Perdika i trete, of the family of Perdika; Armint' i katerte, the son of Lec i dyte; Filip i dyte, the son of Lec i dyte, and Lec i Madhe, the son of Filip i dyte. After Lec i Madhe was Filip i trete——"

But here the genealogy breaks off, for we wished to hear more of Lec i Madhe, and we never came back to the story of his successors.

"Lec i Madhe was born at Emadhija in the

[1] The great city.

PEAKS OF SHALA

173 Mati," began the old man, and was interrupted by three small shrieks of excitement.

"Alexander the Great born in Albania!" we exclaimed. "But—but it is written that he was born in Macedonia!"

"There were at that time two capitals of the united kingdom," said the old man. "There was Pela, between Salonika and Monastir, and there was Emadhija, the old capital, lying in the valley which is now the Mati. In Pela and in Emadhija Filip the Second had great houses, and sometimes he was in Pela and sometimes in Emadhija. There was a trouble between Filip the Second and his wife, because she loved Emadhija and would not go with him to Pela. She went, it is true, but she did not want to. And there was trouble between them because of a Greek woman of Pela. I do not know the song, but I think that it was fancy and foolishness, for Filip the Second was a good man and a wise king. But this is true, that before Lec i Madhe was born his mother left Pela and came back to the city Emadhija, and it was in Emadhija that Lec i Madhe was born, and there he lived until he was out of the cradle. He rode on a horse when he first went down to Pela, and Filip the Second came out from Pela to meet him, and it was from the back of a horse that Lec i Madhe first saw his father.

"And it is said that when Lec i Madhe rode down from Emadhija with his mother and many chiefs of the Malisori they passed through the

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valley of Bulqis, where there are springs of 173
strange waters, and that as they passed through the forest—there was in those days a great forest in the Bulqis, where now there are fields of grain —they rested by one of the springs, in the place where the great rocks are standing in rows. There they heard a sound of singing in a strange tongue, but the end of the song they understood, and the end of the song was, 'Long live Lec, the son of Filip i dyte, Lec i Madhe, the king of the world!'[1]

[1]This story was told me in upper Thethis in the spring of 1921. In 114
the summer of 1922 I visited the Mati, accompanied by Annette Marquis 101
and Rrok Perolli. The Mati is a fertile high plateau defended by an unbroken ring of almost impassable mountains. It has never been conquered by foreign armies, though assailed by Romans, Turks, and Serbs; through 1920 and 1921 the men of Mati successfully defended their lands with their rifles against Serbian artillery. The present Prime Minister of the Albanian republic, Ahmet Bey Mati (or Ahmet Zogu, as he endeavors to persuade the people to call him, since the abolition of titles in Albania) is chief of the family which has ruled the Mati since Albania's quarter century of freedom under Scanderbeg, in the fifteenth century.

We were the first foreigners who had ever entered the Mati. We found the country, the people, and the customs quite different from those of the Dukaghini tribes described in this book, excepting only the unvarying Albanian hospitality. We visited the Bulqis, very terribly devastated by the invading Serbs in 1920 and 1921, and partly circled the city of Dibra, taken from Albania by the 1913 frontier line as a knife takes out the eye of a potato. The Albanian frontier commission of the League of Nations was at that time sitting in Scutari, and I regret that commissions do not sometimes travel along the frontiers they have made.

As to the story of Lec i Madhe, we drank the delicious waters of the many strangely flavored springs of Bulqis, and we lunched in the "place where the great rocks are standing in rows." These stones resemble those 172
of Carnac and Stonehenge, though on a much smaller scale, and they may be relics of peoples who lived here prior to the arrival of the Albanians, or they may be a curious accident of geological formation.

On the site of the city Emadhija we found traces which seemed to us undeniably left by the work of human hands. They lie at the head of a valley in a flat triangular space formed by meeting mountain chains,

1[See cat. 113, pp. 176-187 [185] -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

173 "Filip the Second was very proud of his son, and his pride led him to the one great foolishness of a good and wise king. He said that he would make Lec i Madhe king of the world, and that was well enough, but he thought that to be king of the world a man must be more learned than he himself. Whereas all old men who have watched the ways of the world know that to be strong and ruthless will make a man powerful, but to be learned makes a man full of dreams and hesitations. In his pride and blindness, Filip the Second sent to Greece for an Albanian who had learned the ways of the Greeks, and to that man he gave the boy, to be taught books."

"Really, this is too much!" said Alex. "Aristotle an Albanian?"

"Yes," continued the old man, taking the

172 [continued from footnote, pp. 185--Analyst]

one day's journey from Kruja, the magnificent fifteenth-century fortress built by Scanderbeg. One side of this triangular space is the bed of a small stream, flowing against the base of the mountains; on the opposite side, a stone conduit brings water from a spring several miles distant to a fountain from which the village people still draw their drinking water. The present village is on the mountain side above the site of the city. The villagers say that the conduit was built by Filip the Second.

Of Emadhija itself nothing remains but a city pattern drawn on the sterile level land by lines of stones. These lines are fairly regular, four to six feet in width and two to three feet high; they form squares and oblongs, arranged in curving rows, like plans of houses and courtyards following winding streets. The stones, though much weathered and broken, are in general rough cubes, and they are black, while the stones of the river bed are white and gray limestone. Unfortunately, none of our party had any archæological knowledge, but our untrained observations convinced us that a city had undoubtedly existed there at some time long past, and we believed that we saw the tops of walls which had been buried by centuries of erosion from the adjacent mountains. The villagers of that part of the Mati speak of the place indifferently as "the ancient city Emadhija," and "the birthplace of Lec i Madhe."

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amber mouthpiece from his lips and tranquilly 173 ●
answering the sound of the name, "his name was Aristotle, and he was from a family of the tribe of Ajeropi, his father having gone to a village in Macedonia and become a merchant there. Being rich, he sent his son, who was fond of thought rather than of action, to learn the Greek ways of thinking. And it was this man who was brought back by Filip the Second to teach his son, though there were many chiefs of the Malisori who could have shown him how to be a man and a leader of men.

"The end of it was that Lec i Madhe became the king of the world. Is that written in the books? *Po?* Is it also written that he was made king of the world by the chiefs of the Malisori who had loved his father, and that Lec i Madhe himself was no man, nor ruler of men? Is it written that when the Malisori came back to their mountains after following Lec i Madhe to the ends of the earth they sang a song saying it was good that the eyes of Filip the Second were closed forever, that they might not shed tears of shame for his son? Is it written that this harm was done to the Shqiptars by a man who had gone down to the cities to learn from the Greeks to despise his own people?"

"No," I said, "it is not exactly written so."

But there were expostulations from some who, as Albanians, were proud of Lec i Madhe and would cry down this attack on their most renowned king, and objections from others who

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contended that the old man was right, and all these were silenced by the entrance of Padre Marjan, whose pale, fervent face and gentle voice brought us back to the present.

He was given the place of honor among these of his flock whom he had shriven, and Sadiri Luka hastened from the withdrawn corner where he had been talking with Perolli to make with his own hands a cup of coffee for the padre. When the readjusted group was settled again, and we had replied to Padre Marjan's questions about our morning and our journey, I asked him whether Aristotle was an Albanian. He said, yes. I asked him then about the migration of the first Albanians and the coming of the Greeks in boats, and he said he believed these stories to be true. It was strange, I said, that the historians of the west, the Greek scholars of the universities, could be so misled. Padre Marjan smiled.

"All these old things are debatable, of course," he said, "and it must be remembered that Greeks and Hellenized Albanians wrote all the records. We Albanians have given no material to scholars. Besides, is it strange that they should be mistaken about the lives of men who died thirty centuries ago, when they are mistaken even about their own times? In the same books which say that the Greeks were shepherds from the Danube you will read that the Albanians of to-day are Mohammedans, or brigands, or both."

This was so true that I was silent, and, loung-

172 Korça in the south, located an equally ominous Neolithic deposit.[2] He based his claim of Neolithic age on the shape of one pot, which could just as well have belonged to the Iron Age. Bronze Age finds have actually been made, but not within our territory. A bronze axe, found near Scutari,[3] has been attributed to the late Bronze Age, and is of a type which the Phoenicians are said to have traded with the barbarous inhabitants of the Mediterranean littoral. It has a down-flaring bit and a ring-grooved haft hole, not unlike the iron axes used in the mountains today. Some of the expensive bronze tools such as that described by Vulpe may have reached the mountain tribesmen in trade, but it is unlikely that the Phoenicians themselves wandered far from the sides of their ships, or remained in this desolate region any longer than necessary.

Bronze Age sites have never been located in the highlands. This is not for lack of archaeological research, since a number of Iron Age locations have been discovered and excavated in that area.[4] These sites consist of tumuli. Such grave-mounds have been excavated in Hoti (Malsia e Madhe), Dushmani (Malsia e Jakovës), Mirdita, and Mati. The material removed from them is of regular Hallstatt type; in fact, Menghin says that the objects from north of the Drin are identical with the type specimens from Glasinac and Dolje Dolina, type sites of the Hallstatt civilization in Bosnia.[5]

[173] This evidence confirms that of tradition, that the Gheg country was a part of the Illyrian domain. Two other sets of facts support this conclusion still further, the facts of modern language and of modern culture.

197 The Gheg language as spoken today is basically Illyrian—in fact, the only survivor of

5. Dr. Robert Ehrich who has carefully examined the published reproductions of these objects and who is familiar with the Glasinac artifacts, states that the Albanian collections include Roman objects and others which are presumably Thracian. This evidence would set the date of the sites nearer to A.D. 1 than 500 B.C.

[For foot notes 2, 3 and 4 see p. 39 b
-- Analyst]

175 their local grudges. Silversmiths did a heavy
177 business converting coin into ornaments for pistols and ball-boxes, ornate holster belts, and powder-horns. Feuding now became much easier and more lethal. After firearms, arrived the *kulla*, or stone castle.[1] Although this new house type offered some defense, it did not prevent the great loss of life that the new weapon had initiated.

175 Now that the Ghegs were divided into 2 religious groups, and had guns, the death rate must have increased. The Turks themselves accounted for some of the population loss. They destroyed all the towns of north Albania from Durazzo to Scutari,[18] and others in the mountains as well. For example, they dragged the leading men of the town of Drishti in Postripa, the seat of an early bishopric, to Scutari, where they beheaded them.[19]

Massacre and emigration reduced the population of certain sections of Ghegnia below the economic maximum for the first time since its settlement in the Hallstatt Iron Age, thus opening the way to new immigrants. These were Christian tribesmen from Bosnia and Herzegovina, squeezed out by the Turkish expansion, and particularly by the struggles between Turks and Slavs. They were neither Turkish nor Slavic, but the remnants of the pre-Slavic population, still speaking a latinized form of Illyrian, and Catholic. In speech and religion, they found themselves at home in Ghegnia.

173 Most of them arrived during the 16th century. In the *bairak* of Gruda, Miss Durham found 500 houses, 80 of old indigenous stock, tracing their ancestry to Berisha (Puka), while the other 420 were inhabited by people who claimed descent in the male line from immigrants, called Djell, who came down from Herzegovina about A.D. 1530. A few years later, at least 4 brothers entered the Malsia e Madhe country from Bosnia; they were Geg Laz, ancestor of the Piperi tribe in Montenegro, which is now Slavic in speech and Orthodox in religion; Vaso Laz, the ancestor of the similar tribe of Vasojevitch; Krasni Laz, ancestor of the *bairak* of Krasniqi in Malsia e Jakovës—most of whom are now Moslem, although a few are Catholics. Nik, the ancestor

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 14 b - 15 a -- Analyst]
2 [see p. 44 a -- Analyst]

[19] Durham, 1928, p. 28.

173 of Nikaj, may have been either a fifth brother or a son of Krasni Laz.

The people of Shkrelli, comprising a whole *bairak*, are said to have come from Bosnia en masse about 1600, and taken over a valley whose inhabitants had been killed off and whose church, Shen Kerli (St. Charles, hence Shkrelli) destroyed. Three hundred out of 500 houses in Kastrati are said to be descended from a man called Delti, who came from the Kuchi region of Montenegro, with his 7 sons. He was, however, reputed to have been descended from Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Albania. The 4 *bairaks* Seitze, Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi in Klementi trace their descent from 4 sons of a man called Klimenti who fled from the neighborhood of Gusinje about A.D. 1600.

All of the inhabitants of Malsia e Madhe do not claim descent from these invading ancestors. Their traditions are so consistent, their genealogies so clear, that we cannot doubt that these invasions took place, or that earlier populations survived. In Gruda, 80 houses belonged to the Berisha *fis*, while in Hoti a small number of *anas*, or aborigines, remained. The newcomers intermarried with them. The descendants of these 2 population elements still intermarry regularly. Two hundred out of the 500 houses of Kastrati are pre-invasion, and are said to be of Slavic origin. Reçi includes a few houses of *anas*. The rest of the population, like Loya, claims as its ancestors refugees from Shlaku and Pulati. All in all, Malsia e Madhe seems to have borne the brunt of this Bosniak invasion, and to have derived from it a large part of its genetic composition (fig. 12, *c*).

In other parts of Ghegnia we find less evidence of invasion. The Berisha *fis* has been traced back certainly to 1370, probably to A.D. 1270. If it is that old, it may well go back to the pre-Roman period. Merturi split off from Berisha about A.D. 1700. The 2 *bairaks* of Dushman, Temali and Dushmani, are known since 1402, when they appear in written records as allies of Venice. They are probably much older. The people of Drishti, whose predecessors were destroyed by the

[20] The Dukagins are centuries older. See Gegaj, 1937, cited in Fan Noli, 1947.

[See cut 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

● 173 Turks, came from different places. The people of Toplana were driven to their present mountain stronghold from Vasojevitch in Montenegro about 1450, being pushed out by immigrants from Herzegovina. The ancestors of Plani came from 3 sources: Klementi, Merturi, and indigenous *anas*. Those of Kiri were from Kuchi and Ipek, in Montenegro. One hundred houses of Nikaj people are said to be descended from a daughter of Nikol by a gypsy, and are called Tsura. This is the only instance known of female descent, and indicates the relative social status of the alleged spouses.

[61]

The famous invasion of the Dukagin brothers, Shosh, Shal, Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen, probably took place before the Bosniak migration.[20] Miss Durham derives them from the Pestriku mountains near Jakova, where they were part of the Ipek tribal confederacy. My informants named Marina *bairak* as their home. In Shala they are supposed to have found some small, dark people with whom they intermarried. A few of these *anas* stayed on, and there are said to be 8 houses of them at Abate in Lower Shala, while the rest immigrated to Dechani. The Mirdita brethren found the Dibri and Fan people ahead of them.

One tradition relates that the Dukagin *bairaks* of Mirdita did not stay long in their new home, but when the Turks had taken Scutari and were raiding the neighboring mountains, the settlers retreated to their ancient home, from which they did not return to Mirdita until around 1650. How true this is, and how many people, if any, it involved, cannot be determined.

[36] We know finally that Jakova town was settled by people from various parts of the Gheg mountains, and the same is true of Ipek. These were cities of refuge, like earlier towns before them. More recent than any of these is the village of Vraka, a community of a thousand people lying between Koplik and Scutari. This is the residence of Serbian-speaking, Orthodox farmers, whose ancestors fled from blood vengeance in various parts of Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Bosnia. They have not yet become absorbed, and with modern

[see p. 45a -- Analyst]

173 politics what they are, probably will not be. They serve our purpose of illustrating a principle of population movement in a feuding society.

This ends our history up to the final date of the ethnographic present as defined in chapter 1, "The Dinaric Problem."*

175 Turkish rule lasted in Albania until 1912. After the Balkan wars an opera bouffe kingdom was set up with the Prince of Wied as king, and the capital in Durazzo. During his uninspired reign an international boundary commission laid out the borders of the new state, and at every point where there was any question, Albania came out the loser. Gruda was given to Montenegro. The Grudans who survived this political change fled to Scutari. Hoti lost part of its land, particularly its winter pasture. The tribesmen of Klementi were so cut off that they could not drive their flocks to their winter pasture near Scutari without crossing Montenegrin territory, which would have been equivalent to losing their animals. The Serbs closed the border to mountaineers bringing their goods to Jakova to trade, and expelled many of the Albanians from both [114] that city and Ipek. They made it almost impossible to travel between Kukës and Prizren; in 1929 our party was held up a whole day while we were searched to the skin, ordered to read aloud all of our papers, accused of being renegade Croats, etc., and we finally got away only after a great deal of telephoning on the plea that one of us was dangerously ill. In Prizren we found the jail full of Albanians.

[361] Dibra as well was lost as a market town. Kukës sprang up as a makeshift metropolis, as did Peshkopia. Tradesmen and artisans, as we have seen, stole over the border from Jakova, Prizren, and Dibra, to set up shop in the new places. The boundary commission could have created no more international hatred if this had been its principal objective.

World War I followed immediately after these unwise decisions, and the powderpuff king ran away. An army of Serbs, fleeing for their lives, marched across Dibra and Mati, burning and looting as they passed, to seek refuge on Corfu. Austrian troops, at their heels, occupied Scutari and the Malsia e Madhe, as well as the region of Kukës. They built

*[See cat. 116, p. 56 -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

eminence that what he said is still as sacred as Holy Writ to the mountaineers of Mirditë and all the tribes to the north, including those unjustly incorporated in Yugoslavia in 1912–13. According to tradition it was he who framed the laws by which the mountaineers still live. More probably, like Solon of Athens, he revised and codified existing laws, though apparently without setting them down on paper. Numerous items in his code resemble those known among the Romans and other ancient peoples, and in the versions we have there are many signs of evolution from earlier forms. The code is said to be best preserved in Mirditë, where its items were collected about 1913 by the eminent Franciscan scholar, Father Shtjefen Gjeçov, though his book was not published until 1933. A few years previously he had been murdered by Yugoslavs, as is related in a brother Franciscan's preface to the book.[1]

Little is known of Lek's personality. He must have been a man of standing as well as genius and fine character to have imposed his will on the rude mountaineers of his time, so he may well have belonged to the princely medieval family of north Albania which took its name from Dukagjin, a district lying between the Great Mountains (*Malësi e Madhe*) of the far north and the river Drin, and inhabited by twelve tribes of which Shalë is the chief. Tradition represents him as an older contemporary of Skanderbeg, the national hero of modern Albania, who, born in 1403, died in 1467 after resisting the Turkish invaders of his country as gallantly and as unavailingly as William Wallace of Scotland resisted the English. The Mirditë tribes are also reported to have been living near Mt. Bishtrik in north-east Albania when they learned Lek's code. As they moved to their present fastness under Turkish pressure in the fifteenth century,[2] we are fairly safe in maintaining that Lek's legislation has survived at least five centuries of oral transmission, a high tribute to its quality and to his personality.

Traditions gathered in areas as far apart in every sense as Moslem Lumë in east Albania and Catholic Shalë and Shkrel in the north say that Lek's main stronghold was the now ruined fort of Drisht near Shkodër. He had another in Has in east Albania which commanded the ford crossing the Drin at Spas, five hours below Kukës; it is perched above the water on the last of a line of

[1] An Italian translation of Lek Dukagjini's canon was published in Rome in 1941 by the Reale Accademia d'Italia.

[2] M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins*, etc., p. 30.

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173 denuded peaks linked by perilous natural bridges. The track, once paved in parts, which leads eastwards from Drisht to Shalë is still called 'Lek's road', and there is a 'Lek's rock' in several districts, notably Shalë, Berishë and Surroj. He fought on against the Turks for at least twelve years after Skanderbeg died, and surrendered only when the Turks promised to respect the unwritten laws of the mountains. He then fled to Hungary, where he died.

These traditions are as persistent as they are widespread; those given here tally reasonably well with what Miss Durham heard among the Catholics thirty years earlier. The detail about Lek's conditional surrender is curious, recalling the similar terms given to the Greeks of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. But there can be no proving or disproving the traditions, unless evidence is eventually found in the Vatican archives; the records in Albanian churches have been burned again and again, together with the buildings. It seems likely, however, that popular memory has confused Lek the law-giver with a warrior of later date.[1]

171 To mountaineers everywhere Lek the law-giver's code is known as his *kanún*, for which reason Father Gjeçov's book is entitled *Kanuni i Lek Dukagjinit* ('The Code of Lek Dukagjini'). The editor rightly derives the word from the Greek κανών ('rule'), but does not give its interesting pedigree. It came, not directly from Greek, for north Albania has never been under Greek influence, but through Turkish and Arabic. In the words of Professor H. A. R. Gibb, 'the Greek word was very early incorporated into Arabic as qānūn, pl. qawānīn. The Islamic jurists adopted it to designate an administrative regulation, as distinct from the Revealed Law (*Shari'a*), and many centuries later the Ottoman Sultans adopted it as the designation of their legislative rescripts. The point of retaining this term was that it suggested no interference with, or modification of, the Revealed Law.' To Turkish officials stationed in Albania after its conquest, Lek's code was naturally a *kanún*. Aloof though the Albanian mountaineers held themselves from these officials, they learned a number of their technical terms, as will appear from other examples in this book. They made *kanún* so much their own that they still say something is illegal in pure Albanian (*ligja nuk e ep*, lit. 'the law does not give it') or in mixed Turkish and Albanian (*kanuni nuk e ep*). But,

[1] Perhaps Lek Dukagjini III, 1459–79.

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curiously, they never call Lek's code anything but *kanún*, and so the Catholics amongst them are the only Christians in Europe who have a Canon Law that is not ecclesiastical. 671

Lek's power, says a tradition referred to in Father Gjeçov's book, extended as far south as the town of Lesh, which he made his capital. Overcoming every difficulty of geography and human obstructiveness, he used to convoke the mountain chiefs to parliament there and after discussion promulgated his laws. No less a personage than Skanderbeg was among the deputies. On p. 121 of Father Gjeçov's book there is a lively description of the argument between the two Alexanders—both Lek and Skander are Albanian forms of Alexander—which ended in their both proclaiming the important doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of the law. 173 671

Skanderbeg, if primarily a warrior, was also a law-giver, and it is his code which still guides the mountaineers of Dibër, Mat and Krujë, the three districts with which he was chiefly associated. His family took its patronymic Kastrioti from the hill-fort of Kastriot in Dibër; it was at Krujë that his stout resistance to the Turks made the Pope of the day hail him as the Champion of Christendom. His jurisdiction extended no farther, suggesting that without his military exploits his fame as a law-giver would have faded. In areas farther south where the mountaineers still obey unwritten laws, as in Martanesh and Shpat, no law-giver is remembered a generation or two after his death. The northern limit of Skanderbeg's jurisdiction was fixed by Lek with characteristic wisdom, according to a tradition prevalent in Milot. Once when Skanderbeg was at Dibër and Lek at Shkodër, the former suggested that they should come and meet each other, the point at which they met to be the boundary line between their spheres of influence. When Lek agreed, Skanderbeg set off at sunrise, the canonical time for beginning a journey. But Lek set off four hours earlier and so met his rival at the Kullë Pashaj ('Pasha's Tower') in Mat, which remains to this day the boundary between the two *kanúns*. In general Lek was too clever for Skanderbeg. Once, says another tradition from Milot, Lek, who had a he-goat while Skanderbeg had a steer, suggested that they should swop animals. When this had been done, Lek was heard to mutter: 'He-goat this year, he-goat next year; steer this year, ox next year.'